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of mankind, that the legal methods of the world are steadily advancing and extending to international relations, that arbitration leaflets should be circulated by the thousand, that people should not promote peace with one hand and war with the other, that the stopping of atrocities in Cuba and Armenia would be entirely consistent with peace principles, that the old soldiers are true peace men, that an embassy should be sent to European governments, that a plan for an international tribunal like that of the New York Bar Association should be vigorously promoted.

The closing session on Friday evening was opened with an eloquent address by President Gates of Amherst, who showed that international fraternity is essential to the truest and noblest patriotism. Mr. Capen, on behalf of the Business Committee, then presented the platform of the Conference, which the Committee had constructed following the general spirit and drift of the discussions. After the addition of a phrase or two, it was adopted unanimously and enthusiastically, and sent that night to the Associated Press. Closing remarks, in connection with resolutions of thanks, were then made by James Grant Wilson, Dr. L. Y. Graham, Alfred H. Love and Judge J. H. Stiness, after which Mr. Edmunds concluded the exercises in a very beautiful and impressive description of the way in which an all-pervading atmosphere of peace must be created and enlarged through faithful and unceasing efforts on the part of the friends of humanity.

The Conference grew more and more interesting and inspiring to the very last, and its influence in promoting the cause in whose behalf it was called will, through the character of the men and women composing it, and through the ten thousand copies of the Proceedings which are to be published, be great and lasting.

#### PLATFORM OF THE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

"The civilized world may well rejoice at the unprecedented progress of the cause of international arbitration during the last year.

We deplore the temporary check to the cause by the failure of the Senate to ratify the proposed treaty with England; but we recall the majority of the Senate in its favor, large, though less than the necessary two-thirds, and we believe that while the small minority honestly opposed it, their reasons were not such as to command permanent support. The overwhelming majority of the country should only be stimulated by this temporary failure to more zealous activity, urging our Executive to renew the treaty, with such modifications, if any, as may be approved in the light of the recent study of the subject by the Senate. Our country should also make a similar treaty with France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Switzerland, whose Parliaments have taken action in

favor of a permanent system of arbitration between civilized nations, and with all other countries which may take similar action. We look forward hopefully to the creation in some form of an international court, always open for the settlement of differences which diplomacy may fail to adjust, to which court any nation may resort.

The thanks of this Conference are tendered to ex-President Cleveland, ex-Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote for their eminent services to the cause of international arbitration, and to President McKinley and Secretary Sherman for their hearty support of the same great cause. The outburst of public approval of this treaty proves the growing power of Christian conscience. The pulpit, the press, colleges and associations of the bar, of trade and of labor have given almost unanimous support in behalf of the cause."

#### THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

The message of President McKinley to the Senate on the 16th ult., transmitting the treaty for the annexation of the Republic of Hawaii to the United States, brings up for fresh consideration the whole subject which created so much excitement four years ago. There will be ample time for the fullest investigation and discussion of the subject, as the Senate is not likely to act on the treaty until the regular session next winter.

The President's message gives no reasons in favor of annexation, except the assumed one that political union with the United States is a logical outcome of the policy of this country toward the Sandwich Islands for three quarters of a century. It seems to us, on the contrary, that if the islands have up to this time maintained their independence, under what has practically amounted to a protectorate on the part of the United States, the historic argument, so far as it may properly be used, would be that this independence should continue, under the protectorate, if need be, of this country. But this historic reasoning does not seem to us to be of any special value one way or the other.

One of the chief reasons given in favor of annexation is that if the United States does not take Hawaii, some other nation will. This reason, when examined, is found to be either the dictate of a groundless fear, or a pure pretense, to cover up some motive which it is not thought prudent to divulge. Hawaii now has a stable republican government, capable of being extended and gradually giving the people of the islands all that they need, and shall prove equal to, in the way of development in free political institutions. The government is probably stronger than any that has ever before existed on the islands. The United States, certainly, is much more powerful to-day than at any previous time within the seventy-five years since she undertook to preserve Hawaiian independence. Why, therefore, should her protection be less security to-day

than it has been in the past? Besides this, there is no evidence that, under present conditions, any other power has any purpose of attempting to annex the islands. Nor again is there the least ground for believing that the republic will proceed forthwith to give itself up to England or Germany or Japan, if this country fails to take it. Depend upon it, the "American influence" in the islands, if it cannot get annexation, will prefer to live under United States protection rather than to throw itself into the arms of some one of the other nations from which it is now trying to steer clear.

Turning to the arguments against annexation, that drawn from the remoteness of Hawaii is of no great weight, considering the present rapid development of facilities of intercommunication. Nor do we lay any great stress on the fact that the population of the islands is largely of other races than our own. The American section of the population, though comparatively small, with the co-operation of a still smaller number of Europeans, have entire political control, and their influence in shaping the destiny of the republic is sure to increase rather than diminish, whether the islands become a part of the United States or remain independent. The nucleus of American civilization in Hawaii is so powerful that it is certain at no remote date to assimilate to itself all other elements. If this, then, were the only point of view, we should see no serious ground to oppose annexation. The case with Cuba, which is often mentioned in connection with Hawaii, is entirely different, for in Cuba there is no such nucleus of controlling American civilization.

There are two serious objections to the annexation of Hawaii at the present time. We say at the present time; for conditions may easily be conceived under which it would be not only wise but obligatory for the United States to accede to the wishes of the Hawaiian government to become an integral part of this country. But such conditions do not now exist. In considering the advisability of annexation the question of the interest of the United States as well as Hawaii must be taken into account. Furthermore, there is involved in the subject at the present time the relation of this country not to Hawaii alone, not to ourselves alone, but to all the great military powers and to the whole cause of the progress of Christian civilization. From these standpoints the real unanswerable objections arise.

The first of these objections is that by annexation the United States would be assuming, necessarily, large and expensive responsibilities without any compensating advantages either to herself or to the Hawaiians. To maintain at Honolulu, which is a sort of meeting point of the nations, a Territorial government, with the war vessels, the fortifications and the garrison which would go along with it, would be much more burdensome in every way than

such a government in any of our present Territories, not excepting Alaska. It is difficult to see how there would be from so small a country any commercial advantages which would at all compensate for the large outlays. On the other hand, it need not cost the country a dollar to maintain such a protectorate over Hawaii as will forever insure the independence of the little republic. A word is all that is needed to do this.

But the overwhelming objection to annexation at the present time is that it would be the open adoption by our country of a policy of colonial extension, which, because of the position of Hawaii and the present uneasy relations of the great nations, would carry with it, of necessity, large naval and military expansion, and ultimate, if not immediate, entanglement in all the vexatious, annoying and disgraceful international complications from which, until recently, we have, on principle, kept ourselves free. The pity of it is that there are at Washington and throughout the country at large those who are eager for the nation to abandon its historic policy, and go in, full swing, to become a great military and naval power and to take a free hand in all the disputes and complications of the world. These to a man are in favor of annexation. The pressure in this direction has already become dangerously strong, though it has so far been measurably held in check. The annexation of Hawaii just now would be to throw down the barriers and give this kind of rash and reckless sentiment almost absolute control in all the nation's foreign affairs.

We do not mean to hint that President McKinley, or Hon. John W. Foster, or many others of the same high-minded character, who favor annexation, are influenced by this sentiment. But we fear that they have failed to take sufficient account of it, and of the strength which it has already attained. They are seeking, undoubtedly, to promote the true mission of our country, which is to bring justice, liberty, unity and peace to the world, but they fail to see that the project which they have launched on the country is of just the nature to carry the nation away from its strong, peaceful moorings out into the stormy sea of international entanglements from which it will be painfully difficult to bring it back. We trust that the sober second thought of the Senate and of the people may see the danger as it really is, and that the first step along the perilous path may not be taken. At some future time when the present unnatural fever in the nation's blood cools down, and the desire to enter into the armed rivalry of the other great powers passes away, it will be wise and safe to annex Hawaii, but to do it now is to take counsel of folly and madness.

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The ADVOCATE OF PEACE will take a vacation during August. The September issue will be a double number, and will contain an account of the Hamburg Peace Congress which the editor expects to attend.